

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"It is said, that there has not been a sufficient change in the Ministry. But, surely, the right honourable gentleman below" (Mr. Addington) "must, at least, be satisfied that the change is sufficient. It surely will not be considered that it is *no change* that the office of first lord of the Treasury is now held by *me*. Few persons will doubt, I believe, that a *very real change* has taken place in *that* department." Mr. Pitt's Speech, June 18, 1804. *PARL. DEBATES*, Vol. II, p. 746, 747.

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## TO THE PUBLIC.

At the commencement of each year, since the establishment of this work, it has been the custom for me to say a few words, as to the extent of its circulation; not so much with a view to private as to that of public interest. To judge of the merit of a public journal by the number of copies sold, would be to discover but little knowledge of the various circumstances, by which the sale of such publications is generally influenced; but, when we have to speak of a work, from the pages of which every thing calculated to amuse the frivolous or to entertain the indolent is sedulously excluded; which are occupied entirely with dry political matter, requiring seriousness and reflection in the perusal to render it at all valuable, and, not aided by the sprightliness of wit or the embellishments of style, but, in its unenticing garb, addressed directly to the understanding and the reason, thereon solely relying for its success; when we have to speak of such a work, it is, I think, fair to presume, that the extent of its circulation may be regarded as a criterion whereby to form a tolerably accurate judgment of the prevalence, generally speaking, of its principles and opinions. From this persuasion it is that I am, upon the present occasion, induced to state, that, notwithstanding the unexampled depopulation of the town, during the six months embraced by the Volume just finished, there were *many more copies of this work sold during that time than during any former six months since the commencement of the work*. In a former address to the public, I was led to make a statement of this kind, in order to remove the impression, which the reports of the then ministerial writers might have produced. Now, indeed, the same reason does not exist; but, there are two circumstances which appear to render the statement necessary.—First; it was natural to suppose, that the part, which I thought it my duty to take respecting the *Middlesex Election* would operate unfavourably towards the Register; because, all those, whose eyes had not been constantly fixed upon political causes and events, must have been regarded as likely

to condemn a conduct, which, to them, would inevitably seem inconsistent, if not involving an abandonment of principle. It is not meant to allude here to mere contractors and jobbers; to the leeches of the community; but to men of honesty and real loyalty and patriotism, many of whom might have been excused for disapproving of the observations upon the subject here referred to. No such effect has, however, been produced; and, I am persuaded, that there are very few sensible and honourable men in the kingdom, who, whatever might be their sentiments at first, are not now as anxious as I am to see SIR FRANCIS BURDETT seated as one of the members for this county. Indeed, the profligacy, which can applaud the promotion of Mr. Mackintosh, the ministerial coalition with Mr. Tierney, the employing of Mr. Redhead Yorke and many others of the same stamp; which can, in all cases where the minister gains an accession of strength, preach forgiveness, harmony, and unanimity, and, in all cases where he meets with opposition, inculcate, with more vehemence than ever, eternal resentment and hostility; this profligacy is so glaring and offensive, that it has done what might well have been expected from it, namely, excited the indignation of every man whose indignation is worth notice.—The other circumstance, above alluded to, as likely to have an unfavourable effect upon this work, is, *its steady opposition to the present ministry of Mr. Pitt*. It was natural to suppose here also, that many very worthy and even very sensible men would, recollecting the professions with which I commenced my career in England, think that they perceived a departure from principle; and, though it has, I trust, been incontrovertibly proved, that there has been no such departure, even in the slightest degree, still it might reasonably have been feared, that the deep-rooted prejudices of good men, long attached to the name of Pitt from the purest of motives, and, moreover, strongly averse from making an acknowledgment involving an accusation of their own discernment, would have alienated a considerable number of my readers, parti-



cularly when it was considered, that my work stood, at first, almost exclusively upon the support of persons of this description. So far, however, from this having been the case, I have received, from persons formerly strongly attached to Mr. Pitt, not less, perhaps, than a hundred and fifty written assurances, that the reasons, whereon I have founded my conviction of the destructive tendency of that gentleman's system of rule, have produced conviction equally strong in the minds of the writers; while, on the other hand, I have received only *seven* letters, expressing a dissent from my opinions in this respect, two of which I have published, the other five not being intended for publication. This fact may, perhaps, excite surprise, and I confess, that I myself was, at first, surprised at it; but, when one duly reflects upon the conduct of Mr. Pitt, since his retirement from office, in 1801, the subject of reasonable surprise is, that he yet retains the attachment of one independent upright and sensible man, who was attached to him previous to that time.—With regard to my motives for publishing this work, as well as for the manner of conducting it, they have been often enough stated, and, indeed, one would think it impossible that they should not be evident to every reader of common sense and common information: nevertheless, there are not wanting, amongst the well-known and undisguised hirelings of the day, those who believe, or, rather, who wish to make others believe, that I am “a self-interested scribbler.” A “scribbler” I may be; but, to believe that I am “a self-interested” one, not only must the believer know nothing of my character, but he must be totally blind to the tendency of my conduct; for, if self-interest were my object, who is there that can fail to perceive, that, as to any thing beyond the effects of mere industry, I long have been, and yet am, pursuing exactly the wrong course?

Jan. 1, 1805.

W. COBBETT.

#### REFUSAL OF BANK NOTES.

SIR,—Your correspondent, Crito, desires my answer to two queries, on the subject of refusal of bank notes in payment of debts. Though I agree with him that your valuable paper should not be occupied with opinions on practical law, yet, as I am anxious to lend all the assistance in my power to any measure tending to the repeal of that mischievous law, the restriction act; and, as I formerly studied the law, and still maintain an intercourse with several learned lawyers, I shall take the liberty of an-

swering the queries of your correspondent to the best of my abilities.—If the debt and costs be paid into court in bank notes, and the creditor shall insist on payment in specie, I conceive it would be expedient to inform the debtor by notice, that such payment will be insisted on, and the trial proceeded on if it be not so made. The debtor has thus full notice why he is forced to trial, and there is then, in truth, but one point for the court to determine, whether a creditor be compellable, by law, to accept payment in bank notes. I am aware that the practice of paying money into court is entirely its own creature, modified at its own will in such a manner as to discourage, as much as possible, unjust and vexatious litigation; and it may, therefore, be contended, that in the exercise of a discretion which has created and modified this practice, a lodgment in bank notes might be held to be a sufficient lodgment to save costs. But this, I conceive, could not happen; the discretion of the court will be always regulated by principles of law and justice, and such a decision would be so clearly a breach of both law and justice, as I am satisfied could not occur. Before the restriction act, indeed, if a debt and costs had been lodged in bank notes, and a captious creditor had made the objection that the lodgment was insufficient, because not made in specie, it is possible the court in its sound discretion might overrule the objection; and though not strictly right in point of law, yet it would not be unjust, because bank notes, could without expense or trouble, be converted into specie. But the case at present is widely different: bank notes cannot be converted into specie but with trouble, and at a loss. In the former case, the debt and costs, had in truth and effect, been lodged in court; in the latter case they have not, but a representative of them only, of arbitrary and fluctuating value, which may, and at present does, fall considerably short of the real debt. It might as well have been contended before the restriction act, that a lodgment in Exchequer-bills, when at a discount, would have been sufficient. Bank notes are no more known to our laws, as payment, than Exchequer-bills. The act of Parliament has only prohibited arrest on mesne process, or the holding to special bail, in case of a tender in bank notes. But it has gone no farther. It has not prohibited arrest in execution, nor in any other manner altered the existing law. But for the court to deprive the party of his costs in the case supposed, would alter the law in a most essential and



dangerous manner. If the party could obtain no other fruit of his action than a judgment for his debt without costs, he would in truth, be compelled to accept the tender made to him by the lodgment in bank notes, and thus, not by an act of the legislature, but by an arbitrary decision of the court, all creditors would be compelled to accept of bank notes, however depreciated, in payment of debts.—An application of the same principles will resolve your correspondent's second query. If a creditor obtain judgment, he is entitled to satisfaction of his *entire judgment* out of the estate of his debtor as far as it will extend, and if a sale takes place he has a right to insist that the sale shall be so conducted as to produce him his entire debt, that is, to produce him money of established, and not paper of uncertain or depreciated value. The creditor does not, as your correspondent supposes, sell the property for less than its real value. It is true, indeed, that if sold for bank notes it would produce a greater *nominal sum*, but then its real value, is its price in specie, and if sold for bank notes, the creditor would be the loser to the extent of the difference of value between bank notes and specie. Suppose bank notes at a discount of 50 per cent (it is now established that they have been at a discount of 10 per cent in Ireland, and it is hard to say how far an invasion might depreciate them,) would it be contended, that a creditor could be compelled to accept of half his debt in satisfaction of the whole? And yet to this length would the argument go, because a bank note would then be worth only half its nominal value. If he should not be compellable to accept half his debt, by what law is he compellable to admit a deduction of 2 or 3 per cent?—The matter, in my judgment, resolves itself shortly and simply to this. Previous to the restriction act, the only mode of paying a debt, known to our law, was the gold and silver coin of the realm, of a certain weight, as regulated by statute. And every creditor had a right to insist upon, and could enforce by law, payment in this coin. The alteration made by statute we must look for in the Act of Parliament. And, therefore, we find that a man when sued for a debt, may deposit the amount of the debt sworn to in bank notes, instead of submitting to an arrest, or giving special bail to abide the event of the suit, as he must have done previous to the statute. But there the act stops, and where it stops, the old law takes its course. If the legislature had intended any further innovation, it is to be presumed, it would have

spoken explicitly, and at once have substituted bank notes as a legal payment instead of money. Not having thought fit to do so, the courts of law will not subvert established principles in order to accomplish that indirectly which the legislature has declined to do directly.—I trust, I have now sufficiently established the practicability of enforcing the payment of debts in specie. I agree with your correspondent, however in his doubts of the measure being enforced, at least, until bank paper shall be still further depreciated.—Permit me to add an observation upon the statute abovementioned. The law, in its anxiety to enforce full satisfaction of debts, had provided that where a debt certain was sworn to, bail should be given to abide the event of the suit, by *two housekeepers*, who should each swear himself worth *double* the debt, thus giving a security to *four times the amount of the debt*. By this statute, a lodgment of the debt in bank notes is substituted for the former ample security; and by the depreciation of bank paper this security may be diminished to a half, or a fourth, or any given proportion. At present it is 2 or 3 per cent. less than the real debt. In Ireland it was 10 per cent. less. If such an extraordinary depreciation should unfortunately occur, which must be admitted to be possible, the debtor may lodge the amount of his debt in this paper thus sunk in value, and remove himself wherever he pleases with all his property, and no process of law, that I know, can detain him, because he has left the security required by law to abide the event of the suit, a security eventually worth little or nothing.—I am, Sir, your very humble servant,—AGRICOLA.

#### FAMILY RECONCILIATION.

SIR,—In the country where I live, the reunion of Messieurs Addington and Pitt was received with joy; though none of us could precisely foresee what good it was to do to any body but themselves. Perhaps you can tell us. Having no sagacity of our own, we rely upon your's for information on this point. The minds of men in this quarter are agitated with many doubts. We want to know which of the gentle pair is to take the lead hereafter; is it to be *Nisus* or *Euryalus*? Is it *Pollux* who pursues, or *Castor* who deposits the object of the chase? Is it the active or the passive party in the last change of administration? Which is the sword, and which is the scabbard? In short, Sir, which of them is to say to the other, *i præsequar*, or are they to run a-breast, like ponies in a curriole?—These doubts are very



much fortified by reading over again, as many of us have done, the manifestoes which the parties published, or caused to be published, against one another, while they were at war. A certain Near Observer (whom we all took for Mr. Addington), in his reply to a *plain Answerer* (whom we all took for Mr. Pitt), p. 61, says that, in "a certain statement made by the latter, there is not one word of truth, though it came from under the eye of the ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer." But, in p. 68, there is a passage still more remarkable. "Certainly, if it be malice and animosity towards Mr. Pitt, not to wish to see him in the chief place, I am guilty of it. No man has better justified than he the famous observation, that—'*Tel brille au second rang, qui s'éclipse au premier.*'"—"That he neither understood the state of Europe, nor the nature of the French revolution, is a part of history; that his original error infected the whole character of the war, and made his whole conduct, to use an expression of Mr. Burke, ONE ERROR, cannot be doubted by any man, who would wish to pass for a statesman, or even an observer of events. *Ergo*, none but a flatterer would place him again in a station, where he and half mankind have eternal reason to regret that he has even ascended."—Now, Sir, we wish to know from you, were these declarations written by Mr. Addington himself, or did they come from under his eye, or did he only furnish the materials and instructions, without directly committing himself as the author? If this be his opinion of Mr. Pitt, will he submit to act under him? or, if it be not, how can he pretend to take rank above him? A plain answer to these queries would be a considerable relief to many plain country gentlemen, who know not what to think of this new country dance. Are the partners to join hands, and foot it face to face, or side to side, or back to back, or are they to practise their close dance together, like Mr. Brisk and Lady Froth in the "Double Dealer"? RUSTICUS.

#### DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

ATTACK ON FORT ROUGE.—*Copy of a Letter from the Rt. Hon. Lord Keith, Admiral of the Blue, &c. to W. Marsden, Esq. dated on board the Monarch, off Ramsgate, the 11th Dec. 1804.*

Sir,—Divisions of the enemy's flotilla passing from the eastward towards Boulogne, having frequently, when pursued by his Majesty's ships and vessels, taken shelter in the harbour of Calais, their entry into which has been particularly covered and protected

by the advanced pile battery of Fort Rouge, I considered it an object of some importance to effect the destruction of that work, and lately directed Capt. Sir Home Popham, of the *Antelope*, amongst other objects, to hold in view a favourable opportunity for making this attempt.—I now transmit, for their lordships' information, a letter, and the enclosures to which it refers, which I have received from that officer, reporting the result of an assault which he directed to be made upon it early on the morning of the 9th inst. and from which there is reason to conclude that the fort has sustained material damage; but that from the unfortunate circumstance of its not having been possible, under the existing state of weather and tide, to carry up two of the explosion vessels to the point of attack, the injury has been far less extensive than might have been otherwise expected.—The conduct of Lieut. Hew Stewart, of the *Monarch*, on this recent occasion, will not fail, I am sure, to excite their lordships' admiration and praise. I have great pleasure in conveying to their lordships Capt. Sir Home Popham's testimony to his distinguished merit, and to the zealous and active assistance which he received from Capt. Brownrigg, Lieut. Lake, and Mr. Bartholomew.—I have the honour to be, &c. KEITH.

*Antelope, Downs, Dec. 10, 1804.*

My Lord,—I avail myself of the first moment of my return to the Downs to acquaint you, that towards noon on Saturday the 8th, the wind promised to come to the S. E. and knowing it to be your lordship's intention to attack the enemy at every assailable point, I sent the *Dart* on the close of the evening to an assigned station between Sengate and Fort Lapin, accompanied by the *Susannah* explosion vessel, and two carcasses, with a view of making an assault against Fort Rouge.—Lieut. Stewart, of the *Monarch*, commanded the explosion vessel; Mr. Bartholomew, acting lieut. of the *Antelope*, had the charge of the first carcass intended to be applied; and Capt. Brownrigg requested to take the other.—Your lordship is aware how difficult it is to ascertain the precise injury done to the enemy in an enterprise of this nature, which, in most cases, must be undertaken in the night; but, that you may be possessed of the best information in that respect, I sent the *Fox* cutter, whose master is an active intelligent man, and well acquainted with Fort Rouge, to reconnoitre the place as close as possible without risk, and I annex his report to Lieut. Stewart's, as the clearest account that can be given of the able and officer-like manner in



which the *Susannah* was placed, and the evident consequences of such an application, even under circumstances of considerable disadvantage.—I very much regret that Mr. Bartholomew could not fetch the port; for I am positive he would have lashed the carcass to the piles; he, however, very prudently returned with it to the *Dart*; and although something prevented the second carcass from going off, which evidently had been striking against the piles, from the indentation at one end, yet he recovered and brought it also on board.—I am most perfectly satisfied with the zeal and activity which Capt. Brownrigg manifested on this occasion; the *Dart* was admirably placed, and every assistance afforded from her that could ensure the success of this service, which must now be considered as confined to the efforts of the *Susannah*; and I take this opportunity of most particularly recommending Lieut. Stewart to your lordship's notice; which, I hope, will also be extended to Mr. Bartholomew, notwithstanding he could not fetch the battery; and your lordship must be alive to the enterprising conduct of these two officers on a former occasion.—I cannot conclude my report without assuring your lordship that Lieut. Lake, of the *Locust* gun-brig, who was appointed to cover the boats, behaved in a most exemplary manner, by keeping so close in as to draw all the fire upon his own vessel; and I have great satisfaction in stating, that not an officer or man was hurt in this operation.—I have the honour to be, &c. HOME POPHAM.

*His Majesty's ship Dart, Dec. 10, 1804.*

Sir,—In pursuance of your instructions, and according to the arrangement you made for the attempt on Fort Rouge only, I left this ship at two A. M. and proceeded in shore with the explosion vessel in my charge, until the water shoaled to two and a half fathoms, when I tacked and stood off, so as to enable me to fetch the battery, which I did about half past two, and placing her bowsprit between the piles, left her in that situation. In a few minutes I observed her swing with her broadside to the battery, in consequence of the bowsprit being carried away, and as an anchor was dropped the instant she struck the piles, I had not the smallest doubt of her remaining there until the explosion took place, which was in a few minutes; I could not fetch the covering brig, and as it had every appearance of coming on to blow from the S. E. in which quarter it was when I left the *Dart*, I hope you will excuse my running in the galley to the Downs.—I have, &c. HEW STEWART.  
To Sir Home Popham, K. M. Antelope.

*Fox Cutter, off Calais, Dec. 9, 1804.*

Sir,—According to your order I proceeded off Fort Rouge, and examined it very strictly. As I proceeded towards the shore, I saw a great quantity of plank and timber floating, and would have picked up some, but was afraid I should lose the tide, as I wished to examine it at low water. In standing in, I could discern a great number of people all round the S. W. end of the fort, and from the West head all the way to the Sand Hills. I did not discover any alteration on the east side of the fort; but when I got to the westward of the Fort, I could plainly discover the most part of it to be damaged, and the breast-work knocked down, and I have every reason to believe it was very much injured, by such a number of people being assembled there, and seeming at work upon it.—I am, &c. W. BLAKE.  
To Sir Home Popham, K. M.

COUNTERFEIT COIN.—Circular Note from the Sec. of State, Lord Hawkesbury, to the Lords Lieutenant of Counties. Dated Whitehall, Dec. 1804.

MY LORD;—I beg leave to represent to your lordship that much mischief is likely to arise from the frauds committed by issuing of counterfeit silver coin, chiefly brought from Ireland, and frequently stamped, the better to deceive the public; and from an erroneous opinion having prevailed, that, because it was once circulated in Ireland (though since suppressed there), it is now not unlawful to circulate it here.—In order, therefore, to stop the progress of this evil, and to give efficacy to the laws for the punishment of persons uttering counterfeit coin, knowing it to be so, particularly the Act of the 15th and 16th of Geo. II. c. 28. I am induced to request that your lordship will earnestly recommend it to the magistrates in their several districts in the county of \_\_\_\_\_, to give notice to the public that large quantities of such base coin are in circulation; that such circulation is an offence against the laws; and to recommend it to traders to secure the parties tendering such money, and also the counterfeit money tendered, so as to identify it; stating at the same time in such notice, that, on the application to a magistrate (in case these facts can be sufficiently proved), the offenders will be prosecuted by the Solicitor to his Majesty's Mint, at the public expense, and in that case a reasonable compensation will be made for the loss of time and trouble of the witnesses in such prosecution.—To facilitate this mode of proceeding, and the better to enable the magistrates to carry it into effect, I beg



leave to add, that in any particular cases brought before them, wherein they may be desirous of obtaining further information, they may receive it, upon communicating the circumstances of such case to John Vernon, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, the Solicitor to his Majesty's Mint.—I think proper to add on this occasion, that in the case of any quantity of counterfeit coin being found in the possession of any person, it will be expedient to seize such coin, and to make immediate communication thereof to the Solicitor of the Mint, who has express orders to attend to such communication; and, in the mean-time, it will be proper to commit the person for further examination.—I have the honour to be, &c.

**EMBARGO ON SPANISH SHIPS.**—*Order of Council relative to the detention of Spanish Ships, and Ships bound to Spain. Dated at the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 19th of December, 1804. Present the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.*

Whereas information has been received that an Embargo has been ordered to be laid upon all British ships in the ports of the kingdom of Spain: it is this day ordered by his Majesty, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, that no ships or vessels belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects be permitted to enter and clear out for any of the ports of Spain, until further orders: and his Majesty is further pleased to order that a General Embargo or Stop be made of all ships and vessels whatsoever, now within, or which hereafter shall come into any of the ports, harbours, or roads, within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, together with all persons and effects on board the said ships and vessels; but that the utmost care be taken for the preservation of all and every part of the cargoes on board any of the said ships, so that no damage or embezzlement whatever be sustained.—(Signed) S. COTTRELL.

*Circular Letter of the Commander in Chief, relative to the Sale of Commissions.—Dated October 24, 1804.*

His Majesty's regulations in regard to the sums to be given and received for commissions in the army, having, in various instances, been disregarded, to the great prejudice of his majesty's service, his royal highness the commander in chief, is pleased to direct, that when an officer is desirous of retiring from the service, and of having leave to sell his commission, if his regiment is in Great Britain, he is to send his resignation in the usual manner, through the commanding of-

ficer of his regiment, to his colonel; who, in transmitting the same to the commander in chief, may at the same time, if there are purchasers in the corps, recommend in succession, the senior of their respective ranks for purchase, both the colonel and commanding officers certifying, that they are satisfied that no more than the sum stipulated by his majesty's regulation is given or received.—Should there be no purchaser in the regiment, the resignation of the officer desirous to retire, is alone to be transmitted in the manner and form above mentioned; when, should the application be deemed proper to be granted, his royal highness will recommend to his majesty, such officer for the purchase, as to his royal highness may appear most eligible. Officers belonging to regiments stationed in Ireland, must make their application in a similar course to the commander of the forces there; and, on foreign stations, through the commanding officer, to the general officer under whose command they are; their applications being uniformly sanctioned by their respective commanding officers, who are to certify, in the same manner as colonels of regiments at home, that they are satisfied in regard to the sums given, or to be received, being in strict conformity to his majesty's regulations. Colonels, when absent from Great Britain and Ireland, may empower the officer in actual command of their regiments, or their regimental agents, to recommend purchasers for vacant commissions, in which case the necessary certificates, in regard to the sum to be paid in regimental succession, must be signed by them in the colonel's absence, as well as the recommendation for the purchase, and the person so recommending to cornet-cies or ensigncies vacant by purchase will be held responsible for the eligibility of the person recommended. The commander in chief is further pleased to direct, that when an officer is desirous of retiring on half-pay, receiving the difference, the same rules are to be observed in regard to transmitting his application; but no recommendation in succession is to accompany the request to retire; as his royal highness will himself nominate the officer to be proposed to his majesty for the exchange. To enable the commander in chief to recommend officers for purchase, it is necessary that regular returns of all officers prepared to purchase promotion should be transmitted from each regiment and corps in the service to the commander in chief's office, Horse Guards, London, on the 25th of March, the 25th of June, the 25th of September, and the 25th of December in each year, under cover to his royal highness's





military secretary; and these returns must particularly state where the money of each individual desirous of purchasing is lodged, or offered to be obtained; and similar returns must be forwarded to the regimental agent for the information of their respective colonels. Officers on leave of absence from corps on foreign service, may transmit their applications to purchase or sell, through the colonels of their regiments; and in the event of a change in an officer's circumstances between the quarterly returns, he may make a direct communication to head-quarters, in order to prevent any purchase taking place in his own corps, by which he may be passed over by a junior officer. This rule is applicable also to officers on the recruiting service, or other military duties, whose corps may be on a foreign station. Officers on half-pay desirous of exchanging to full pay, giving the regulated difference, must address themselves to head-quarters, stating where the money is lodged, or to be obtained, to enable the commander in chief to recommend them as vacancies occur. After these orders have been circulated, no attention will be paid to representations of officers who have neglected to return themselves prepared to purchase, as, whatever hardships they may suffer in that case, must be entirely owing to their own neglect. In causing these orders to be circulated to the army, the commander in chief thinks proper to declare, that any officer who shall be found to have given, directly or indirectly, any thing beyond the regulated price, in disobedience to his majesty's orders, or to have attempted to evade the regulation in any manner whatever, will be reported by the commander in chief to his majesty, in order that he may be removed from the service; and it is also to be understood, that the prescribed forms of application for the sale and purchase of commissions, and the usual certificates annexed thereto, are in all instances to be complied with.—By command of his royal highness the commander in chief.—G. A. EADEN, military sec.

#### SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

FAMILY RECONCILIATION (continued from Vol. VI. p. 1061). Before I proceed further to remark upon the probable consequences of this reconciliation, it appears necessary to explain a little more fully the nature of the connexion of our *Political Family*, and also to take a short retrospective view of the causes and progress of the quarrel which has now been so happily terminated.—The main principle of The Family seems, as was before observed, to be, that all the power and emoluments of the

government of this kingdom constantly belong, of right, to the different members of The Family, who, however they may disagree as to the distribution, ought, on no account, to suffer any portion of this their inheritance to fall into the hands of any other persons but themselves. This principle seems to be so firmly fixed in the minds of the persons who have adopted it, that, upon whatever arises fairly out of it, they, whenever an occasion offers, argue, as upon a self evident position. Hundreds of instances might here be cited, wherein the members of The Family, or their partisans, have thus argued. Whoever has paid the slightest attention to their language, whether in or out of doors, must have perceived, that they always talk of the government as something which is *theirs*; that they reason as if it were admitted, as a matter of course, that some of them *must* be our rulers: and, that the only question for both them and us to consider, is, *which of them* are the persons most proper, or whose turn it is, to rule us. I have recently made some quotations from the pamphlet, entitled "A PLAIN REPLY," published by some very close friend of the Addington branch of The Family, in order to counteract the effects of the "PLAIN ANSWER," which was written by MR. LONG, or, at least, which went to the press from him. The "PLAIN REPLY" was attributed to MR. BRAGGE, whether correctly or not I cannot say; but, it bears internal evidence of having been written, or dictated, by some one having direct access to the then minister, and, in point of execution it is not beneath the talents of MR. BRAGGE. In this pamphlet the family doctrine makes its appearance in almost every paragraph. I will cite a few instances as I turn over the pages. "The fact is," says the writer, "that Mr. Addington's relinquishment of his situation as Speaker was considered by him, and must be considered by every candid man, as an *absolute and real sacrifice*." Just as if he had given up the fee simple of a house or a farm; and without, for a moment, admitting even the possibility of any other person ever presuming to offer himself as a candidate for the Chair. Speaking of the friendly office performed by Mr. Addington towards Mr. Pitt and his colleagues (but towards Mr. Pitt in particular) in taking possession of the government at the time of the resignation, the writer concludes thus: "From this" [the motions of censure on the part of opposition] "From this, and *much more*, they were relieved by Mr. Addington's consenting to become their successor. By his *engaging to carry on administration*, they became



“at once secure from every attack, they were enabled to retire in peace, and without, as they conceived, any diminution of character or reputation.” That this favour was conferred *solely on Mr. Pitt* must be evident; for Mr. Addington was the successor of only that one gentleman; nor had the others, except Mr. Dundas, perhaps, any share in recommending him to either the king or the people; and, things so turned out, that he never received any support from them, never having, in their opinion, deserved it. But, what we have to attend to at present, is, the Family notion expressed in this passage. This writer talks of “engaging to *carry on* the administration,” as one talks of carrying on another’s business for him; and the concern seems to be considered perfectly as a *private* one: no idea of public duty appears to have entered into the writer’s mind: Mr. Addington was so kind as to carry on the government and to shelter Mr. Pitt, and for that, whether Mr. Pitt ought to be sheltered or not, Mr. Addington is to be applauded! A little further on the writer has to speak of the change in Mr. Pitt’s Parliamentary conduct towards Mr. Addington, and to remark upon the causes and influence whence that change proceeded. “I will believe,” says he, “that he” [Mr. Pitt] was “not so insensible to the force of private friendship as to resolve, all at once, to separate himself from the companion of his youth and the friend of his riper years; from the man with whom he had lived so long upon terms of the utmost familiarity. I believe he felt, as every man must feel, that, by taking office with his approbation, and under such circumstances, Mr. Addington had acquired a claim to his support.” Here again, the taking office is considered as a mere private concern. The claim to support does not profess to be grounded upon any public reason, but solely upon the private connexion and obligations of the parties. After having pointed out, pretty intelligibly, the persons who had secretly been labouring to withdraw Mr. Pitt’s support from Mr. Addington, and describing the danger there was of seeing the former ranged in opposition to the latter, the writer concludes thus: “It was, no doubt, in order to avert a state of things so distressing to his feelings, and to procure a return of that friendship which he continued affectionately to cherish, as well as to secure to the country the more immediate assistance of abilities, which were valued as highly by him as by any man alive, that Mr. Addington, early in the year 1803, readily

“listened to suggestions, thrown out (no matter by whom) of Mr. Pitt’s being disposed to enter again into administration.” Here we have their own statement of the motives whence the negotiations for place began, in the winter of 1803; and we find that these motives were, like all the others by which the parties appear to have been actuated, the keeping of the power and emoluments of the state amongst themselves, and the exclusion of all others from having therein any share whatever. Then follows a statement relative to the terms of the proposed accommodation. “Mr. Pitt,” says the writer, “was offered to resume his former situation in the cabinet, and that vacancies would be made for the purpose of admitting Lord Melville into the cabinet, and others of Mr. Pitt’s friends into different official situations. Now,” says he, “let it be considered, who, besides Mr. Addington, are the members of the cabinet. Be it remembered, that they were originally Mr. Pitt’s friends, and not Mr. Addington’s; that they even came into the cabinet, not only invited, but named by Mr. Pitt; and what could be apprehended by Mr. Pitt from an administration composed of such persons? What doubt could be entertained of his maintaining all the influence and all the preponderance which belong to a prime minister? Can any man seriously believe that he could object upon any such grounds? For we are not told what situation Mr. Addington could be placed in upon any such supposition, or how it was to be contrived that he should take the lead of his leader. The fact is, that in this respect, as in all others, Mr. Addington acted towards Mr. Pitt with that full confidence which became an honourable man towards one whom he considered to be equally honourable, and, as yet, his friend. He offered either to go out entirely, or to take the situation, whatever it was, which Mr. Pitt should assign him; such a situation as would put it out of his power, if he were so inclined, to be again Mr. Pitt’s successor. Could now, I ask, Mr. Addington give stronger or more unequivocal proofs of his sincerity, of his attachment to Mr. Pitt? Very strong indeed! Unquestionably very strong! So anxious was he, good soul! to quiet the apprehensions of his jealous friend, that he was ready to submit even to become a *peer of the realm* for that purpose! And yet we have the confidence to reproach the French, for their tame submission to the insolence of Napoleon and his brethren! But, let us take one more passage. Returning to the subject,



of Mr. Pitt's conduct in Parliament, the writer says: "his support has not been even that which an indifferent person, coming into office under such circumstances, would have been entitled to claim: still less was it that which was due to a man, who had been his intimate friend and companion for so many years, who had gone along with him in every public measure, and who, in the very act of taking office, was plainly doing an act of friendship." This is, perhaps, more outrageous than any thing else we have ever heard from one of The Family. The writer, in the course of his pamphlet, brings forward several public measures of Mr. Pitt that were unwise, injurious to the country, and "calculated only to keep his place;" he accuses him of having misconducted the war against France, and of having, in 1791, done an act by which our influence on the Continent was finally destroyed: and, it is after all this, that he brings forward the circumstance of Mr. Addington having gone along with Mr. Pitt in every one of these measures, as a ground whereon the former was entitled to claim the parliamentary support of the latter! This clearly shows, that the interests of the nation never enter into the arguments on either side. He spoke and voted for you upon every measure, right or wrong, for so many years, and you ought to speak and vote for him in return! This, considering the concern as a Family one, was perfectly fair. But, how insolent, how outrageously insolent, is it towards the King and the People! Yet, such are the notions that pervade all the publications and discourse of the Family and their partisans. So indisputable do their partisans consider their right to use any means for the purpose of excluding all others from any share of the power or emoluments of the government, that they never think it necessary to enter into any justification of the means they make use of, be they what they may. At the time that the partisans of Mr. Addington were representing him as the confidential servant of the King, as the man most fit to manage the affairs of the nation, as the person whose loss would be irreparable; at the time when he was accepting of the support of several persons, upon the evidently implied condition, that he would resist the return of Mr. Pitt to administration; at that very time, we now find, that, if his partisans speak truth, he was ready to do almost any thing to smooth the way for that return. He was ready to go out altogether, to take whatever situation Mr. Pitt might think proper to assign him,

even a peerage not excepted! Hear this, ye pretenders to modesty, and "hide your diminished heads:" the son of Doctor Addington, Mr. Pitt's family physician, is willing to become a *peer of England*; and that too from the sole, the disinterested, the amiable motive of allaying the jealousy and tranquillizing the mind of his friend!—That a friendship like this should ever have been, for a moment, interrupted, must be a subject of considerable surprize to every one unacquainted with the discordant tempers, the jarring interests, and jostling pursuits of the several members of this numerous Family. For this reason, and in order the more correctly to judge of the probable consequences of the reconciliation, it seems necessary to say a few words as to the causes and progress of the late quarrel in The Family. That, to the moment of Mr. Addington's leaving the chair of the House of Commons, the most perfect harmony and affection subsisted between him and Mr. Pitt is agreed to upon all sides. The circumstances, under which the former came into the cabinet, have been differently described by the different writers. Mr. Long represents Mr. Addington as being "recommended to the King by Mr. Pitt," while the author of the *PLAIN REPLY* positively asserts, that "Mr. Addington continued to be perfectly ignorant of every thing relative to the misunderstanding between His Majesty and Mr. Pitt, till the moment when, most unexpectedly, he received His Majesty's commands to attend him at St. James's, for the purpose of forming an administration; that hereupon Mr. Addington hesitated; that he took every means to prevent the change that was in agitation; that it was not without great reluctance, and after some delay, that the matter was settled; and that it was during this interval, that the offer, spoken of in the *PLAIN ANSWER* was made by Mr. Pitt," that is to say, "a distinct offer to retain HIS SITUATION, until the war should be concluded, and the country relieved from its most pressing difficulties!!!" This last fact is stated by Mr. Long, and allowed to be correct by the opposite party. It has often been asked, what could induce Mr. Pitt to make this offer; and why, if he could, with propriety, have retained his situation, his colleagues could not have retained theirs? The time of making the offer is, too, to be well remembered: it was after the King had sent for Mr. Addington for the purpose of forming a new administration. The object of Mr. Pitt in making the offer must be too evident to need explanation; but, there is one circumstance attend-



ing it that never has been, that I recollect, stated in print, and that is, that *none of his colleagues, except Mr. Dundas (and, perhaps, not he) ever were consulted as to the making of the offer, and never heard of it, till it came out in the pamphlet of Mr. Long!* The offer was, however, rejected by the King. This is stated by Mr. Long, and agreed to by his opponent. Thus situated, Mr. Pitt must have seen that, if Mr. Addington accepted the premiership and formed a ministry without his approbation and support, such a ministry must soon have recourse for aid to the opposition, who, in that case, would, in a little time, have come in to the full possession of power, under all the popularity which peace could have given them. The consequences of such an event to Mr. Pitt himself were too alarming to be risked. If Mr. Addington declined the undertaking, the opposition came in at once, and the consequences were the same, only still nearer at hand. No wonder, therefore, that Mr. Pitt advised Mr. Addington to become minister, though his own offer of service was rejected; and what is stated by Mr. Long, as to Mr. Pitt's recommending Mr. Addington to the King, is likely to be perfectly correct, only that, from the manner in which the statement is made, one would suppose, that the recommendation preceded the King's choice of Mr. Addington, whereas, it now appears, that the royal choice preceded the recommendation. When we reflect on the offer made by Mr. Pitt, at the time above-mentioned, to retain his place without any intimation thereof given to his colleagues; when we reflect, that, in the negotiation for his return to place in 1803, not a word was said about the Catholic question, and that, it is stated in the "PLAIN REPLY," that, at that time, Mr. Pitt "had made up his mind upon that head, and "had actually relinquished it;" when we reflect on what has passed since, and on what is likely to pass this winter relative to the subject, it is next to impossible to believe, that the obstacles to Catholic emancipation, or that any circumstance or circumstances attending it, was the *real* cause of Mr. Pitt's resignation. It was, however, alleged to be the cause; he himself openly avowed it; and, therefore, we cannot be reasonably refused the liberty of asking, how he came to recommend to the King, the Parliament, and the Nation, a successor, who has not less openly avowed, that he came into power upon the express condition of resisting the Catholic claims; or, in the words of the PLAIN REPLY, "he" [Mr. Addington] "could not "but be aware that he must be known as coming into administration in direct opposition

"to the measure of Catholic emancipation." Surely we have some right to ask, how, upon any other than the Family principle, Mr. Pitt could recommend such a person as his successor. But, there is another question not less material to our present purpose; and, that is, *how* came Mr. Addington to be directly opposed to Mr. Pitt upon this solitary question, after having, to use the words of the Plain Reply, been the "friend and "companion of his youth and of his riper "years;" after having, during all the time, placed "implicit reliance on him;" after having "gone along with him in every "public measure." I should like very much to hear what can be said in order to account for their difference, their wide and decided difference of opinion, upon this single point. Mr. Addington never heard of the question, we are told, as a matter of dispute, till he went to the King: then, we are assured, that he "hesitated:" he endeavoured to accommodate the matter between the King and Mr. Pitt: at last he accepts office by the advice of the latter, and with the promise of his support, though it is well known that he accepts it for the express purpose of opposing the very measure, because he could not carry which Mr. Pitt resigned! Where is the man so dull as not to perceive the motives by which both must have been actuated?—In advising and encouraging Mr. Addington to take the helm, Mr. Pitt secured, too, the power of filling all the other offices; and, we see, that the PLAIN REPLY states, that the other members of the cabinet "were "not only invited, but actually nominated "by Mr. Pitt." Thus, though it is tolerably well known, that Mr. Pitt intended another person for the premiership, things were arranged very much to his liking. The peace, for the purpose of making which upon terms like those of the treaty of Amiens, if better could not be obtained, is thought to have been the real object of his resignation, was made; the arrears of the loans, for which the Income Tax was pledged, were funded; and the people seemed to forget his errors; but, they also seemed to be very much inclined to forget *himself* too. He retired: nobody asked after him. His news-writers gave out that he was studying agriculture: not a word by way of invitation to him to quit his rural pursuits. His friends lamented his absence from Parliament, and found themselves solitary mourners; till Mr. Canning, bursting with mortification, got up in the House of Commons, and, in a voice that was heard through the pauses of a horse-laugh, made the following remarkable declaration: "Never did young ambition labour so much to attach popularity and



"power, as my right honourable friend has laboured for two years past to detach them. He has, in that period, laboured, not for fame, but for obscurity; but, much as he has laboured, *he cannot succeed*; for he cannot withdraw himself from the notice of a people whom he has *saved*."\* Mr. William Gifford has told us, in a note to one of his poems, of a poet, or novel-writer, who, in a desperate case of public neglect, caused it to be given out that he was dead, in order thereby to furnish occasion for the expression of such sentiments of regret for his loss as might have a favourable operation upon his restoration to life. Mr. Pitt's friends did not give out that he was dead: they declared him, however, to be very sick; but, though they accompanied this declaration with the expression of most awful apprehensions as to the consequences, the nation appeared perfectly resigned; and, when Mr. Pitt came back to Parliament from Bath, it appeared, by his division upon Mr. Patten's motion, that in *detaching people from him*, he had succeeded to a much greater extent than Mr. Canning appeared six months before to have been aware of; for, upon that occasion, it appeared, that Mr. Fox, at the end of a twenty-years' opposition, had a far greater number of steady friends than Mr. Pitt had, at the end of a twenty-years' ministry. In short, Mr. Pitt now began to feel that he was in imminent danger of sinking into complete obscurity, and he appears to have resolved, about the end of the year 1802, to make an effort to save himself from so intolerable an end. Mr. Canning, who had never opened his lips against the ministry from the time they came into power to the month of November 1802, now began to attack them, and that, too, in a manner which clearly shewed, that his shafts were levelled at the men. Mr. Pitt kept away. He was sick. He went to Bath. They wanted no witch to tell them what all this meant. Their newspapers attacked Mr. Canning with unbounded rage; and their pamphlets have since made his conduct the main charge against Mr. Pitt, whom they accuse of having kept aloof himself, while he let loose Mr. Canning upon them, in order to worry them into a surrender at discretion; and, indeed, whoever reads Mr. Canning's speeches during the period alluded to, and compares them with the pamphlet of Mr. Long, will not be much astonished at the accusation.† When the signal was thus thrown out in the conduct of Mr. Canning, the ministers, as appears by the state-

ment of the PLAIN REPLY, complained to Mr. Pitt and "what they expected from him, and could never obtain from him, was, not that he should put any restraint upon Mr. Canning's oratory, but that he should disavow the sentiments uttered by that gentleman: that he should say, or give authority to others to say, that Mr. Canning was not his representative in parliament, was not delivering his opinions; which was a mistake, that, owing to Mr. Pitt's silence on that head, was actually made by some persons, and hardly kept clear of by others." Thus soured were the tempers of The Family at the close of the year 1802, a time when the ministers were utterly at a loss to know whether they should determine upon the continuance of peace, or a renewal of the war; a time, to them, of uncommon anxiety and alarm. Under the favourable effects of peace and of two abundant harvests, Mr. Addington's affairs had been so prosperous, that he probably began to forget every thing that he and Mr. Pitt must have talked about, during the days of interval between his being sent for by the King, and the final acceptance of the premiership. The newspapers seemed to have become his instead of Mr. Pitt's: he paid little attention to what was said, in the House, against the measures of the former ministry: the place appeared to begin to look like his own: and, he evidently did, at one time, think himself capable of holding it as long as he pleased by playing off the three other parties against each other, as occasion might serve. But, when he saw another war coming on, so close upon the heels of his peace, he began to tremble, and lost no time in endeavouring to avoid the open hostility of Mr. Pitt, which he dreaded much more than that of Buonaparté or of all the commanders in the world. Accordingly we are told in the PLAIN REPLY, that "in order to avert a state of things so distressing to his feelings, and to procure a return of that friendship which he continued affectionately to cherish, he, early in the year 1803, listened to suggestions thrown out of Mr. Pitt's being disposed to enter again into administration." This led to the negotiation for peace, which, as we have seen, terminated in widening the breach. Mr. Pitt wanted Mr. Addington first to resign, in effect, and to suffer him, called upon by the King himself, to form just such an administration as he pleased; intimating at the same time, his intention to bring in Lords Spencer and Grenville, if they chose it, because he readily supposed, that his coming in without some such aid, would only be a prelude

\* Register, vol. II. p. 1755.

† See Register, vol. II and III.



to his fall, never to rise again. To this proposition, however, Mr. Addington would not consent; and thus was he left to reel along as well as he could, sustained by the contests of the other parties rather than by any strength of his own. This was peculiarly the case in the discussion of the several questions at the breaking out of the war. And here, it was truly curious to observe the exact proportion that was observed in the movements of Messrs. Canning and Pitt respectively. At the outset of Mr. Addington's ministry, and all along through the discussions relative to the peace with France and the Convention with Russia, Mr. Canning preserved a profound silence, but gave the ministers his vote; while the latter gave them his active oratorical support: from the meeting of parliament in November, 1802, to the breaking out of the war in May, 1803, the disapproving silence of the former gradually grew into an oratorical disapprobation; while the active oratorical support of the latter sunk by degrees into a disapproving silence: at the breaking out of the war, and upon the question on Mr. Patten's motion in particular, the former came to direct and general censure, in vote as well as in language; while the latter, keeping at his stated distance, found some things to censure, but not every thing, and, therefore, moved, supported, and voted for, the previous question. But, the disguise was no longer to be preserved. The Addingtons saw that it was useless any longer to attempt to keep their places by conciliating Mr. Pitt; they appear to have resolved to stand as long as they could in defiance of him; and, as some of the Old Opposition were disposed to lend them their aid, and even to continue to support them rather than suffer them to fall under Mr. Pitt, there appeared to be some reason to suppose, that they would have lived over the next session, unless a co-operation should take place between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox; if that co-operation took place, though only for a few days, it was evident that their ministry was at an end. To effect this co-operation was in agitation so early as the summer of 1803: it was not brought to bear till the month of April last, and the consequences are well known. Mr. Erskine and Mr. Sheridan were averse from the co-operation, because, said they, the consequence will be the re-opening of the cabinet to Mr. Pitt, rather than which we ought to support the present minister. These gentlemen certainly acted consistently, if that was their view, and they have declared it to have been their only view; but, their judgment, in my opinion, failed them; for, nothing, in the then state of things,

would have been gained by prolonging the administration of Mr. Addington, seeing that, *whenever he went out Mr. Pitt would, at first, come in.* The nation wanted to see him fairly turned out. He had still the reputation of resigning: his partisans were still bold and loud: it was necessary that he should come again and try what he could do with affairs which he had so embroiled, with the vessel which he had "piloted into port in safety." Mr. Pitt and Mr. Canning appear to have thought, that, when they had formed their new ministry, they had out-witted the opposition, made them the ladder of their ambition. They now, perhaps, begin to *feel*, that they were mistaken; and, that they were doing the very thing that every sensible man of the opposition must have wished them to do, unless, indeed, Mr. Pitt could have been brought to take a *second* place in the ministry. I think I can venture to say, that no one of the leaders of the opposition was at all deceived by the result of their co-operation with Mr. Pitt; and, as to myself, let the pages of the Register for the months of April and May last speak for me, and say, whether I was not, all along, fully aware of what finally took place. To me it was equally clear, and I have endeavoured to render it so to my readers, that the Addingtons would not long remain separated from Mr. Pitt. That he would do without them as long as he could was certain; and, if he could have regained his former colleagues, their penance would have been, perhaps, of long duration; but, they would naturally seek to rejoin him, well knowing, that, of themselves, they could do nothing, and that they never could rise to any degree of consequence amongst the opposition. The formation of the present ministry was singularly favourable to them: it has already effected their purpose, and that, too, in a way that they scarcely could have hoped for. They know Mr. Pitt's distress, they know the endeavours he has made to stand without their aid, and they will value themselves accordingly.—This brings us to the third point. But, in order to form a judgment as to the probable consequences of the reconciliation that has now taken place, we must look back a little to reasons which were alleged for turning the Addingtons out. There were several distinct reasons, but there was one general one, namely, their unfitness for office, or, in the words of Mr. Pitt himself, their "*incapacity and imbecility.*" In the pamphlet of Mr. Long, this charge is repeated no less than eighteen times; in the pamphlet of Mr. Robert Ward, who now sits close at the back of his modern Camillus, it is repeated, and some-

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times in language the most contemptuous and insulting, forty-three times; Mr. Canning, in his several speeches, has repeated it till the ear tires with the sound, and, in the debate of the 18th of June, he specifically states his objection to those members of the late ministry, who were displaced by the change. "I shall content myself," said he, "with vindicating my own consistency. I objected to the administration of foreign affairs, and that has been changed; I objected to the naval administration, and that has been changed; I objected to the military administration, and that has been changed; I also objected to the general superintendence of the whole, and that has been changed." That is, he objected to Lord Hawkesbury, Lord St. Vincent, Lord Hobart, and Mr. Addington; the first was removed, and the other three were turned out, before he would join the ministry. And, will Mr. Addington come to be removed too? This is really a question. And here, as Mr. Canning is so nice upon the head of consistency, I cannot help hoping, that he will condescend to clear up a doubt, which this same speech of his, viewed in conjunction with another of his speeches, has excited in my mind. After having stated the grounds upon which he justified his consistency in coming into the new ministry, having in it six of the former "incapable and imbecile" cabinet, he said, "I candidly confess that no man was more disappointed than myself" [in finding that an administration upon narrow principles was formed]. "I wish it had been otherwise. I have myself no object of personal ambition; but, when my right honourable friend thought he could gain assistance from me, I did not feel myself inclined to relinquish the part I was called upon to act, because it was an arduous one." Mr. Canning is now going to see an instance of the danger there is for an orator to dabble in intrigue. On the third of June, 1803, he supported and voted for Mr. Patten's motion of censure, though Mr. Pitt spoke and voted against it. Upon that occasion, he said: "For the first time in my life, I am, by an over-ruling sense of duty, to vote differently from my right honourable friend." Now, I would beg leave to ask him, in what respect the tie of duty was stronger in this instance, than in the instance before mentioned. Why did he not follow his right honourable friend in his motion for the previous question as well as in his formation of a ministry, [when the latter was as much against his wish, or, at least, against his professions, as the former could be? Did his

right honourable friend *loosen the tie*, in the case of the vote of censure; and were, then, the suspicions and charges of the Addingtons well-founded after all? Or, did the tie of itself become more binding, when *strengthened with a salary of four thousand pounds a year*, though enjoyed under a cabinet of ten persons, upon the heads of six of whom he had voted for a resolution of censure? This is a dilemma from which it will not be easy for Mr. Canning to extricate himself. The truth is, I believe (and other persons believe it too), that, this gentleman had, when he made the speech last quoted from, profited from a worthy colleague of his, and was, in case of accidents, endeavouring to provide himself with "two strings to his bow." But, I strongly suspect, that, when his present bow fails him, he may, for a considerable time, at least, give over the chase of ambition; for, there is no man in the opposition of common sense that can believe, that, looking back to the vote of censure in June, 1803, Mr. Canning could have been induced to enter *against his inclination* into the present ministry. No: he has freely embarked in it, and he must sink or swim with the pilot whose praises is the burthen of his song. Whether Mr. Addington will quietly suffer him to remain is another question: it is thought by some that he will not. But this is a matter of very trifling importance: there is no reason why they should not agree full as well as Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Canning now do. Nevertheless, the charge of "*incapacity and imbecility*" so liberally bestowed upon Mr. Addington and his colleagues by Mr. Pitt, must, somehow or other, be smoothed over, or it is, one would think, quite impossible that any real co-operation should take place. There are three suppositions respecting the course which Mr. Addington will take: the first is, that he will take neither office nor peerage, but will give his support in the character of a volunteer, and with all the advantages arising from apparent disinterestedness: the second is, that he will accept, as a reward for his services as speaker, a coronet, a blue-ribbon, and a thumping pension, and will quietly give up all pretensions to office and power: the third is, that he will insist upon a seat in the cabinet, upon an office of great importance in the state, and upon the restoration to place of the greater part of those persons who were turned out of the ministry along with him. This last supposition is by far the most probable; for, it is impossible to believe that he would come and give his support to the minister merely because he was reconciled to him; and though he



should be willing to wear the motto of "*incapacity and imbecility*" in his armorial bearings, provided a good round sum of money came with the title, yet, it can scarcely be imagined that his friends, that those who were turned out with him, branded by Mr. Pitt with the marks of "*incapacity and imbecility*;" it can scarcely be imagined, that Mr. Yorke, Mr. Bragge, the right honourable Hiley, Mr. Bond, Mr. Vansittart, and the rest of the *thirteen*, whom Mr. Addington can bring with him; it can scarcely be imagined that they will be satisfied, that they will regard their reputation as restored, merely by the circumstance of their leader having been loaded with titles and with public money. As to peering and pensioning the whole of them, that is out of the question. They must and will, therefore, come again into office, or they must and will oppose the minister; and they will, on every account, be justified in opposing him the more steadily and strenuously in consequence of the defection of their chief: nay, their reputation will demand such a line of conduct on their part; and, then, Mr. Pitt's object, his great, and, indeed, his *sole*, purpose in the reconciliation, is entirely defeated. Precisely what share of the power and emoluments of the state they may think proper to demand, it is impossible for any one unconnected with them to say; but, one may venture to predict, that they will be satisfied with anything *short* of their former possessions; and, indeed, it is probable, they will insist upon something beyond them. There stand Mr. Canning and Mr. Pitt, who turned them out upon the charge of "*incapacity and imbecility*," and this charge they must do away by obtaining a *re-instatement* at least, or they must know, that, by giving their support to Messrs. Canning and Pitt, they tacitly acknowledge the justice of the charge; they render indefinable, they deepen down to the very bone, the mark with which they were before merely branded. Their return to place must, therefore, produce considerable inconvenience. There are not many of them having pretensions to very high office; but, their introduction will, nevertheless, make a general stir, a squeezing, a jostling, and a growling. To add many to the pension-list would, just at this time, be rather unseemly. Yet, what is to be done? To make more offices would be difficult. The Family is evidently become too numerous. It is time there were a check to its population! Some persons think, that George Rose, Mr. Long, Mr. Canning and others, who have been regarded as more particularly hostile to Mr. Addington, will re-

sign. As well might you ask puss to part with her whiskers and her claws! Still, after all, somebody must *resign*, and hence will certainly arise fresh heart burnings and disputes and revilings in The Family. Their rage will not, perhaps, again extend so far as to the writing and publishing of pamphlets: they have paid too dearly for that: but, that their quarrel will be rancorous there can be no doubt; and, though it may not produce any adverse votes, it will, upon trying occasions, be very likely to take three or four, at least, from the ranks of the minister.—But, the most important consideration of all is, the strong proof, afforded by the circumstances of this reconciliation, of *the rapid decline of Mr. Pitt's power*. Without inquiring into any circumstances, the fact of his having so soon come to a reconciliation with Mr. Addington, with the man, to whom he was speaking, no longer ago than the 18th of June last, in the words chosen for my motto, and on whom he, before as well as since that time, bestowed almost every appellation which our language affords, expressive of distrust and contempt; the simple fact of his having so soon come to a reconciliation with this man is quite a sufficient sign of his distress, especially when we consider, that the whole number of votes attached to Mr. Addington does not surpass thirteen. The circumstances, however, of this reconciliation, leave not a shadow of doubt as to Mr. Pitt's situation. The *time* was *after* the failure of his endeavours and expectations with regard to the friends of the Prince; *after* a high office had been offered to several persons successively, and by them successively refused; *previous* to the meeting of parliament, which meeting had been most unexpectedly and unaccountably postponed. The *manner* was the most humiliating to Mr. Pitt that could possibly be conceived: it is stated amongst the court news, and in all the newspapers, that the reconciliation took place in consequence of a previous arrangement between His Majesty and Mr. Pitt, and that the reconciled parties shook hands in the presence of the former; and, I venture to state as a *fact*, that, the friendly communication *began* by a letter from Mr. Pitt to Mr. Addington, and that, too, on *the very next* after the parties were *not upon speaking terms*! When to these circumstances is added that of His Majesty's recent visit to Mr. Addington, is it not impossible to believe, that the latter will consent to be shoved aside by Mr. Pitt with a peerage and a pension? That he, together with all those who were turned out with him, intend quietly to vote for Mr. Pitt with that gentleman's charge of "*in-*



"*incapacity and imbecility*," still ringing in their ears, and in the ears of all those who are now to sit in judgment upon their talents and their characters? Let it be remembered too, that Mr. Addington and his relations and adherents have, as the saying is, "a crow to pluck" with their former colleagues, who so shortly turned about and became the colleagues of Mr. Pitt. It has, indeed, been suggested, that it was a contrivance between those who went out and those who remained in, to get Mr. Pitt into the situation where he now is, in order to enfeeble him, to degrade him, to take from him all support but their own, thus to render him their dependent, and to make use of him merely as a maker of speeches and as a defender of their administration. This is, however, imputing too much foresight to the parties; though it must be confessed, that, if such was their intention, they have most completely succeeded. But, it must be presumed, I think, that it was not; and, that Mr. Addington and his adherents, have a very good ground of quarrel with those who staid behind them in place. That the benevolent principles of the reconciliation will embrace this case also there can be no doubt; but, it is hard to believe, that the Addingtons will suffer those who deserted them to continue to derive any advantage from their desertion. The sharing of power and emoluments is, however, not the thing that will produce the striking effect upon the minds of the people and of foreign nations, with regard to the situation of Mr. Pitt; it is the share which Mr. Addington will have, and which he must *let the world know he has*, in the management of the affairs of the country: in the proposing, the discussing, and the determining upon the great measures of state. He has been, and by Mr. Pitt, too, charged with, and turned out for, "*incapacity and imbecility*;" and he must drag on a degraded life under that charge, unless he takes his full share in governing the country. Indeed, there is no appearance of any backwardness, on his part, in this respect. *THE TIMES*, a paper entirely devoted to him, has, on the 4th instant, in an article bearing all the marks of authority, given a pretty broad hint of Mr. Addington's intention, and that his intention is not to act an *underling* part, will be easily perceived. "If there are any subjects in discussion, after the reconciliation that has taken place under the highest auspices, it is not very reasonable for any one acquainted even with the names of the right honourable gentlemen alluded to, to infer that those subjects turn upon the rank or emolument of of-

fices, upon the questions of *who* shall have the *precedence* in the cabinet, or the *casting vote* in it. Are there no subjects of national importance, upon which it is possible for *these* ministers to be *deliberating*? Is it improbable to suppose that *mutual concessions*, and *reciprocal approximations*, may be taking place upon such points as the *Catholic Question*, the *Spanish War*, the *fusion of the Militia into the Regular Army*, or any other measures of equal dignity and importance?" What! Mr. Addington! That Mr. Addington, whom Mr. Pitt turned out, only six months ago, as "*incapable*" of public affairs! That Mr. Addington, to whom Mr. Canning objected! That very Mr. Addington now "*deliberating*" with Mr. Pitt upon the principal measures to be pursued, or laid aside! It is good to hear that Mr. Pitt is at last brought to "*deliberate*" with some one; and, it is pretty well known, that, towards others as well as Mr. Addington, he has, since his return to power, become more condescending than formerly; that he patiently hears those now, whom formerly he would not see, and that he talks long in cases where it used to be impossible to extract more than a single monosyllable from him. It was regarded as a good sign, that the Lacedemonians had been brought to quit their laconisms, and to talk like other people. What! "*mutual concessions*" and "*reciprocal approximations*" between Mr. Addington and Mr. Pitt! A "*question who shall have the casting vote in the cabinet*!" There is, then, it seems, to be some "*counting of noses*" at last! The measures here mentioned are, indeed, of importance. The Catholic question might, perhaps, be easily gotten over; but, not so the *Spanish War*, and the *Military Project Bill*. With regard to the former, the conduct of the *two Premiers* is completely at variance; and, indeed, the measures of Mr. Pitt, as to Spain, were preceded by a demi-official condemnation of the measures of Mr. Addington relative to that power. There are some persons who suspect, that the recent conduct of Mr. Pitt; that his orders and counter orders; his embargoes and counter embargoes; his hesitation, his evident doubts and apprehensions, are to be ascribed to the parliamentary danger which he perceives must arise from the pushing of things so far as to bring the House to decide between his conduct and that of Mr. Addington towards Spain! As to the *Military Project*, that is the very subject upon the discussion of which Mr. Addington was turned out. Mr. Addington has his project too; but, it was thrown aside, and its auth- r



turned out, in order to make room for another project and another minister. And, is it possible that the success of this other project should not become a matter of inquiry? And, if it does become a matter of inquiry, can Mr. Addington and his adherents hold their tongues? Or, will they speak and vote, either directly or indirectly, in favour of that which they before condemned, and that too after it has notoriously failed of success, to an extent far beyond their predictions? Good reason have they to "deliberate;" for certainly they have a path to tread more thorny than ever was before trodden. The fact is, that Mr. Addington does not join the present administration; he comes in to take possession of it, and to preserve it as long as possible. That Mr. Pitt has none of the people with him, the Jews and Jobbers excepted, has long been notorious; and now it is not less notorious, that he has not the King with him. If there could have been any doubt remaining upon this subject, the late visit of His Majesty to Richmond Park, just as the news of the reconciliation reached the ears of the public, must have entirely removed it. The courtiers are all with Mr. Addington, the country all with the opposition, and Mr. Pitt will now become merely the *debater* of the administration, over which Mr. Addington will, in reality, have the almost absolute control. This is the light in which the matter is universally regarded. The friends of Mr. Addington do, of course, greatly exult. Their sentiments they seem by no means solicitous to disguise. They very frankly declare, that Mr. Addington is again "the King's Minister;" and they insist, with perfect truth, that "the measures of Mr. Pitt fully justify His Majesty's preference of his former Prime Minister." This has been boldly stated in the demi-official paper above-quoted; and, the writer adds, that, "though Mr. Pitt is unquestionably endowed with unrivalled talents as an *operator*, and possesses great *practical* knowledge in all matters of *finance*; yet, that no candid man will contend, that, as a statesman, versed in all those means by which the affections of a nation are conciliated, and its permanent interests are promoted, he falls *very far short* of the more mild, more conciliating, but not less firm and energetic Mr. Addington!" We may laugh at this; but it is no laughing matter for Mr. Pitt. It is, indeed, expressive of intolerable vanity; but, are not the circumstances enough to render any man vain? It is whimsical to observe, that, while Mr. Pitt's friends out of office apologize for him by

saying, that "he *could not help it*, the King "would have it so;" his friends in office are using every possible exertion to persuade the world, that "the King *never at all interfered*." The cause of this difference in statement needs little explanation: his friends out of office are anxious for his *reputation*; whereas those in office care about nothing but his *power*, and they well know, that, if the world is once thoroughly convinced, that the court has cast him off, his power is at an end. Thus situated, compelled to submit to the equality, at least, of Mr. Addington, and being constantly exposed to the danger of being turned out, if he attempt to resume his former tone and attitude, some persons seem to think, that, ere long, Mr. Pitt will be seen, in a moment of mortification, throwing down his Treasurer's staff, and leaving his more fortunate rival to the mercy of the opposition. I am of a different opinion. Mr. Canning is sufficiently ambitious; but Mr. Canning could, it is said, apologize to Lord Hawkesbury for words uttered in parliament relative to his lordship. Mr. Pitt's ambition appears to be of nearly the same sort; that sort, which SWIFT is describing, when he begs of us to remember, that "*climbing is performed in the attitude of crawling*." The truth is, that Mr. Pitt is not in a slate to bear any more changes. Much of the spirit of his public reputation has evaporated already. A few more transfusions, and exposures to the air, would render it perfectly vapid. The very rumour of his intending again to resign, would instantly produce a desertion so general as to reduce his numbers to the strength of a corporal's guard; for, all men of common discernment must perceive, that he was bidding adieu to the cabinet for ever. This is a truth, too, of which he himself appears so thoroughly sensible; and, therefore, however severe his mortification, however glaring the slights and gross the insults that he has to endure, endure them he will, till the hour arrives, when he and his system are destined to fall, never more to rise; and, that that hour may be at no great distance, must be the wish of every reflecting and well-informed man, who is, at the same time, a sincere friend to the King, the Aristocracy, the Church, and the People, and who, of course, wishes to see England once more raise her head amongst the nations of the earth; once more to resume the honours which the Pitt administration has erased from her shield, once more hoist the flag which that administration has made hide beneath the waves.